2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada.

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding.

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1]

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh"can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), S¢l¢bitok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢wa ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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[595]

The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called pémlelel ɬáyadi?, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or díbek gumlánu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, palaá·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called tánlelel ɬáyadi?, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawásaŋ gumlánu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayalsilgá·š ɬáyadi? (also dewlsilgá·š ɬáyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčýŭ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčýŭ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčýŭ) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dánal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time.

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo."

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919.

Death

Death (deyúltyi?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return."

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."